

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 ADP-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 CCO-00

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NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 EB-11 TRSE-00

OMB-01 RSR-01 SR-02 ORM-03 ACDA-19 GAC-01 EUR-25 AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7886 IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USINT CAIRO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 2529

E O 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PBOR, PINT, IS, XF

SUBJ: DAYAN STATES POSITION ON TERRITORIES

SUMMARY: DAYAN IN STATEMENT MARCH 29 BEFORE KIBBUTZ GROUP
URGED LABOR PARTY TO FORMULATE PLATFORM FOR 1973 ELECTIONS
WITH REGARD TO ESTABLISHING JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRI-
TORIES. HE SAID GOI WAS HOLDING BACK ON SETTLEMENTS BECAUSE
OF OPPOSITION FROM CABINET MINISTERS AND QUESTIONED WHY AN ARAB
IN TERRITORIES SHOULD BE FORBIDDEN TO SELL HIS LAND TO JEWS.
HE CALLED FOR END OF TALKING ABOUT "TEMPORARY PRESENCE" OF
ISRAELIS IN WEST BANK, SINCE ISRAEL IS "THE ONLY GOVERNMENT"
THERE." WHILE NOTING HE WAS NOT DEVOTEE OF ALLON PLAN, HE
DEEMED IT POSSIBLE TO SUBMIT PLAN TO JORDAN AS BASIS FOR
NEGOTIATIONS, BUT IN ABSENCE OF MUTUAL AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT
IT AS SUCH, ISRAEL DID NOT HAVE TO CONSIDER ITSELF RESTRICTED BY
ALLON PLAN, AS FAR AS SETTLEMENTS WERE CONCERNED. ALSO
MARCH 29, DAYAN TOLD GROUP OF PARATROOPERS THAT ISRAEL NOW
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HAS POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING PERMANENT BORDERS, AND THAT MILITARY MIGHT MUST NOT BE DISMANTLED AS LONG AS ITS EXISTENCE CAN SERVE PSYCHOLOGICALLY TO HELP ENCOURAGE MOVEMENT TOWARD PERMANENT MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. IN SPEECH MARCH 29 BEFORE KIBBUTZ GROUP DEFENSE MINISTER DAYAN URGED LABOR PARTY TO GO BEFORE VOTERS WITH CLEAR- CUT PLATFORM AND RESOLVE WHAT ITS PROGRAM SHOULD BE WITH REGARD TO SETTLEMENT IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. ACCORDING TO SUMMAR- RISES IN GOVERNMENT PRESS BULLETIN AND IN ISRAELI PRESS (TEXT NOT AVAILABLE,), DAYAN EXPRESSED INDIGNATION IN SPEECH OVER GOI FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT ITS DECISION TO ESTABLISH URBAN SET- TLEMENT NEAR NEBI SAMUEL, SITE OF FORMER ARAB VILLAGE NEAR JERUSALEM. HE SAID FURTHER THAT MAXIMUM HAD NOT BEEN DONE FOR SETTLING KIRYAT ARBA IN HEBRON. HE STRESSED THAT HOLDBACK FROM SETTLING IN AREAS DID NOT STEM FROM LACK OF MONEY, APPROPRIATE TERRITORY, OR VOLUNTEERS, BUT RATHER FROM OPPOSI- TION OF CERTAIN CABINET MINISTERS. HE ASKED WHY AN ARAB SHOULD BE FORBIDDEN TO SELL HIS LAND TO JEWS, VOICING SURPRISE THAT GOI SHOULD FORBID SUCH PURCHASE IF PURCHASE WAS NOT SPECULATIVE.

2. TAKING ISSUE WITH FONMIN EBAN, DAYAN REJECTED " THIS TALK OF SEEKING TO END OUR TEMPORARY PRESENCE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA (WEST BANK).... IF WE WISH TO END IT, THEN WE HAVE TO STOP TEACHING THE BIBLE." HE SAID PARTY HAD TO BE HONEST AND DECIDE WHETHER IT IS GOING TO ELECTORATE WITH MAPAM PLATFORM OPPOSING SETTLEMENT BEYOND PRE-1967 BORDERS OR " WHETHER OUR PLATFORM WILL BE THAT HEBRON IS PART OF OUR ANCESTRAL HOMELAND AND THAT WE WILL SETTLE THERE."

3. DAYAN SAID ALLON' S WELL KNOWN VIEW, THAT ISRAEL COULD BE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION BUT NOT GOVERNMENT IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WAS " UNACCEPTABLE." HE COUNTERED: " WE ARE THE ONLY GOVERN- MENT THERE. WE HAVE
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6. DAYAN STRESSED THAT KEY TO PEACE SETTLEMENT IN REGION WAS HELD BY EGYPT. AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES WOULD BECOME POSSIBLE ONLY AFTER EGYPT TOOK FIRST MOVE, WITHOUT EGYPT NO POLITICAL ARRANGEMENT WITH POPULATION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND WITH JORDAN, OVER AND ABOVE ARRANGEMENTS ALREADY EXISTING, WOULD BE POSSIBLE, HE SAID, UNLESS ISRAEL WAS PREPARED FOR TOTAL SURRENDER.

7. DAYAN SAID HE WAS WILLING AND READY TO MAKE TERRITORIAL COMPROMISES IF THEY BROUGHT DURABLE PEACE. ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE HAD TOP PRIORITY; IF NOT TOTAL PEACE, THEN BY STAGES. DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN INTERIM AND PARTIAL SETTLEMENT, HE SAID " AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT IS THE FIRST STAGE TOWARDS THE END OF THE WAR, WHILE A PARTIAL SETTLEMENT DEALS WITH A SPECIFIC AREA."

8. TOUCHING ON OTHER SUBJECTS, DAYAN CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD VOTED AGAINST HOLDING MILITARY PARADE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY BUT UNCLASSIFIED

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ACKNOWLEDGED ARGUMENTS THAT IT SERVED AS DRAMATIC FOCUS OF ISRAEL' S 25 TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS. HE SAID PARADE WAS CERTAINLY NOT BEING HELD TO IMPRESS ARABS WITH ISRAEL' S MILITARY MIGHT, BUT WAS AIMED AT ISRAELIS. MENTIONING BRIEFLY DEMOGRAPHICS OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, HE STATED THAT IF ISRAEL IS FACED WITH CHOICE OF EITHER GIVING ISRAELI PASSPORTS AND CONFERRING ISRAELI CITIZENSHIP UPON ONE MILLION ARABS OR GIVING UP NABLUS, HE WOULD CHOOSE TO GIVE UP NABLUS.

9. PRESS ALSO REPORTS DAYAN SPEECH BEFORE GROUP OF PARATROOPERS IN EVENING OF MARCH 29, IN WHICH HE SAID, LOOKING OVER HISTORY OF LAST 100 YEARS, THAT TODAY ISRAEL HAS, FOR FIRST TIME, POSSIBILITY OF CREATING PERMANENT BORDERS FOR STATE OF ISRAEL AND FOR ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH ARAB NEIGHBORS. HE POINTED

OUT THREE LANDMARKS LEADING TO PRESENT SITUATION: (A) EXISTENCE OF CEASEFIRE SINCE AUGUST 1970; (B) COLLAPSE OF ARAB EASTERN FRONT; AND (C) DEPARTURE OF SOVIETS FROM EGYPT IN JULY 1972. HE TOOK VIEW THAT PRESENT SITUATION OF STABILITY WITHOUT WAR IS BASED UPON HOLDING DEFENSIBLE LINES AND MAINTAINING ISRAELI MILITARY MIGHT, WHICH MUST NOT BE DISMANTLED AS LONG AS ITS EXISTENCE AT MAXIMUM LEVEL HELPS TO ENCOURAGE BOTH SIDES IN MID EAST CONFLICT TO MOVE TOWARD PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.
ZURHELLEN

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